

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM

MANUSCRIPTS

CHIEFLY IN

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE,

HITHERTO UNPRINTED.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.

HISTORICAL REMARKS ON KNOX'S IMPLICATION IN RICCIO'S MURDER.

History, p. 26.

It has long been known, that some of the principal supporters of the Protestant cause in Scotland were implicated in the assassination of Riccio; but it has hitherto been believed that their great ecclesiastical leader Knox was not privy to this murder. From the language, in which the event is told in his history it might be inferred, indeed, that he did not condemn the assassination of one whom he regarded as a bitter enemy to the truth.¹ "After this manner above specified," says he, "to wit by the death of David Rizzio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rowmes,² and likewise the Church reformed, and all that professed the Evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer were delivered;" but in weighing this passage it is to be remembered, that although the Fifth Book of Knox's history was probably composed from notes and collections left by the reformer, it was not written by him.³ The late Dr. Macrie, his excellent biographer, has this sentence upon the subject, which from the authority deservedly attached to his life of Knox may be taken as the present popular belief upon the point. "There

¹ Knox's History, p. 344.

² Offices.

³ Mc'Crie's Life of Knox by Dr. Crichton, pp. 250, 416, and Prefatory Notice to Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 20.

is no reason to think that he (Knox) was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Riccio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and of the Commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators.”¹

As Dr. Macrie had not the advantage of consulting those letters upon this subject which I have found in the State Paper Office, and by which the whole secret history of the conspiracy against Riccio has been developed, we are not to wonder that he should have spoken so decisively of Knox's innocence of any previous knowledge of the plot. I shall now state as clearly as I can, the evidence upon which I have affirmed in the text that he was precognizant of the intended murder—adding, at the same time, some letters which may be quoted in his defence.

The reader is already aware that Riccio was assassinated on the 9th of March, 1565-6; that Ruthven, Morton, Lethington, fled on the queen's escape and meditated advance to Edinburgh (March 18th), and that while other accomplices secreted themselves in Scotland, Morton and Ruthven took refuge in England. Such being the state of things, on the 21st of March the Earl of Bedford then at Berwick, of which he was governor, thus wrote to Cecil,—

“You shall understand that the Lord Ruthven is come hither for his own safety, who, passing thro Tiviotdale came to Wark Castle, and being troubled with sickness, and therefore weak, tarried the longer upon the way thence, afore he came here. I received him, (as I have learned that the ancient order is in like cases) and so mean to do such other as shall for like purpose come. He keepeth most commonly his bed for that small time that he hath as yet tarried here, and therefore is not so likely to depart hence of some good time.

“The Earl Morton is gone towards Carlisle, and from thence will take his way towards Newcastle, and so hitherward for some time, to talk with the Lord Ruthven. The Lord Lindsay and the Laird of Liddington are both gone to the Earl of Athol for their safeguard—Liddington, as I hear, will come hither if by any means he can, whereof as it cometh to pass you shall further understand.

¹ Life of Knox, p. 253, edited by Dr. Crichton.

“The Earls of Argile, Glencairn, and Rothes, have received their dress,¹ and so are in quiet, or at the least in hope they shall be quiet. The Earl of Murray, the Lairds of Grange and Patarro, and the tutor of Pitcur have refused the like dress, as the other have received, seeming thereby the less willing to receive the dress offered them for that these lords their friends were excluded out of the favor and pardon, and so hardly putt at—yet it is thought they will receive it, for so in any wise have these lords now abroad desired them.

“Their King remaineth utter enemy to these lords now abroad, notwithstanding his former doings with them. Hereof and for that Mr. Randolph *writeth also more at large of the names of such as now be gone abroad*, I shall not trouble you therewith.”² * * *

This letter was written from Berwick eleven days after the murder, and about a week after the flight of the conspirators, here called “those that be gone abroad,” and we see, that in the last sentence Bedford mentions to Cecil, that he will not trouble him with any farther details, as Mr. Randolph was at that very time writing to him, and would send in his letter the names of the conspirators who had gone abroad.

This letter of Randolph is accordingly in the State Paper Office, and pinned to it I found the promised list of names.³ I shall first give the letter, and then the “list.” The letter, which is addressed to Cecil, is wholly in Randolph’s hand—the list is in the hand of a clerk who I find at that time was employed in his confidential correspondence by Bedford.³ The letter, which is addressed to Cecil, is as follows:—

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

Berwick, 21st March, 1565-6.

“May it please your honor,

“Since Mr. Carew’s departure hence, this hath happened. The queen, to be revenged upon the lords that gave the last attemptate and slew David, is content to remit unto the former

¹ Pardon.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. Bedford to Cecil. Berwick, this 21st March, 1565.

³ This list is now bound up with the volume. See the handwriting of letter, St. P. Off. B. C. Bedford to Cecil, 27 March, 1568,

lords, with whom she was so grievously offended, all that they had done at any time against her, who, seeing now their liberty and restitution offered unto them, were all content saving my Lord of Murray, to leave the other lords that were the occasion of their return, and took several appointment as they could get it, of which the first was the Earl of Glencairn, next Rothes, Argile, and so every one after other, saving, as I said, my Lord of Murray, with him Patarro and Grayne, [Grange] who, standing so much upon their honours, and promise, will not leave the other, without some likelihood to do them good.

“The lords of the last attemptate, which were these: Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Liddington, finding these men fall from them whom they trusted so much in, and for whose cause they had so far ventured themselves, found it best to save themselves in time, and therefore, upon Sunday last,¹ every one of the four above named, departed their several way, my Lord of Morton towards the West borders, my Lord Ruthven through Tividale, and so came to Wark, and yesterday to this town. The Lord Lindsay into Fife, Liddington to Athol, to my L. there, either to be saved by him, or to purchase his pardon of the Q. which is thought will be so hard as may be, and therefore is he looked for very shortly to be in this country, if he can escape.

“Besides these that were the principal takers in hand of this matter, there are also these, the Laird of Ormiston, Hawton, his son-in-law, Cawder, his nephew, Brunston, Whyttyngnam, Andrew Car of Fawlsyde, Justice Clerk brother, George Douglas, and some other. Of the town of Edinburgh divers, so that as I judge, there are as many like to take hurt in this action, as were in the former. What is become of any of these I know not as yet, saving Andrew Car that came to this town with the L. Ruthven and his son.

“The Q. upon Monday last,² returned to Edinburgh. In her company the Earls Bothwell, Huntly, Marshall, Hume, Seton, with as many as there [they] were able to bring with them. Where she was wont to be carried in a chair by four of her

¹ *i. e.* Sunday, 17th March.

² *i. e.* Monday, 18th March.

guard, she is yet able to ride upon a horse, though by her own account she hath not six weeks to her time. She lodgeth not in the Abbey, but in a house in the town in the High-street. Her husband hath disclosed all that he knew of any man, and yet hath given his hand, and subscribed divers bands and writings, testifying that to be his own deed, and done by his commandment. It is said, that he gave him one blow himself, and to signify that the deed was his, his dagger was left standing in his body after he was dead. Their mind was to have hanged him, but because business rose in the court between the Earl Bothwell and such as were appointed to keep the house, they went the next way to work with him." * * * At Berwick, the 21st March, 1565.

This letter explains itself, and needs no comment. The list of the names which was pinned to it is as follows. It bears this indorsement in the hand of Cecil's Clerk.

" Martii, 1565.

" Names of such as were consenting to the death of David."

THE EARL MORTON.

THE L. RUTHVEN.

THE L. LINDSAY.

THE SECRETARY.

THE MR. OF RUTHVEN.

LAIRDS

ORMISTON.

BRUNSTON.

HAUGHTON.

LOCHLEVEN.

ELPHINSTON.

PATRICK MURRAY.

PATRICK BALLANTYNE

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

ANDREW KAR OF FAWDONSYDE.

JOHN KNOX. } Preachers.¹

JOHN CRAG. }

" All these were at the death of Davy and privy thereunto, and

¹ Spelt thus in original:—

TH'ERLE MURTON.

THE L. RYVEN.

THE L. LYNNESEY.

THE SECREATORY.

THE MR. OF RYVEN.

LARDS

ORMESTON.

BRYANSTON.

HAUGHTON.

LOUGHLIVINE.

ELVINGSTON.

PATRICK MURRY.

PATRICK BALLENTYNE.

GEORGE DUGLAS.

ANDRO KAR OF FAWDONSYDE.

JOHN KNOX. } Preachers.

JOHN CRAG. }

are now in displeasure with the Q. and their houses taken and spoiled.”¹

The inference from all this seems to me inevitable ; namely that in an authentic list sent to Secretary Cecil by Bedford and Randolph, the name of John Knox is given as one of those who were privy and consenting to the death of David Riccio. Now that these two persons, the Earl of Bedford and Randolph were intimately acquainted with the whole details of the conspiracy, has been proved in the text.² To the proof there given I shall merely add part of a letter of Bedford to Cecil, written, it is to be observed, on the 11th of March, the unhappy man having been murdered on the evening of the 9th of March.

“After my hearty commendations—yesterday in the morning the Earl of Murray and the other lords, and the rest entered into Scotland, and went that night to Edinburgh * * These lords make account to find great aid in Scotland, so as shortly things will fall out in more open sort than as yet, whereof from time to time you shall be advertised * * Since the writing hitherto certain advertisement is come that David is dispatched and dead. That it should be so you have heard before. The manner and circumstances thereof I will not now trouble you withal. By my next I hope I shall have somewhat else to say, and then will I write more at large. * * * F. BEDFORD.”

“From Berwick this 11th March, 1565.”

The evidence, therefore, is direct and clear, and comes from those who must be esteemed the best witnesses in such a case. But there are other circumstances which strongly corroborate it, as far as Knox is concerned. The reformer was then the great leader and adviser of the party of the Kirk. Riccio was regarded as its bitter enemy, an opponent of God, an oppressor and tyrant over God’s people,³ and we know that Knox conceived it lawful for private individuals to put such persons to death, provided all re-

¹ It is certain that this cannot mean that all whose names are to be found in this list were personally present at the act of the murder ; it should be understood to mean that “all these were at the murder of Davy *or* privy thereto.”

² See pp. 29 et seqq.

Macrie’s Life of Knox, by Dr. Crichton, pp. 253.

dress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible.³ "The truth is," says Dr. Macrie, in his reflections upon the death of Beaton, "he (Knox) held the opinion that persons who by the commission of flagrant crimes, had forfeited their lives, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, such as notorious murderers, and tyrants, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible, in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers.'¹"

Now, keeping this in mind, we find Morton and Ruthven, the leading conspirators, informing Cecil in a letter from Berwick, written on the 27th March, that the great end proposed by them in the murder of Riccio, was to prevent the universal subversion of religion within Scotland; and they add this remarkable sentence, "and to the execution of the said enterprise the most honest and most worthy were easily induced to approve, and fortify the king's deliberation in the premises, howbeit in action and manner of execution, more were followed of the king's advice, kindled by an extreme choler, than we deliberated to have done."² Who then were these persons named here "the most honest and most worthy?" Evidently none else than the heads of the Protestant party, Morton and Ruthven, Lethington, Lindsay, and Ochiltree, the barons of Ormiston, Brunston, Calder, Hatton, Lochleven and others in Scotland, with Cecil, himself, and Bedford, and Randolph, the great supporters of the Protestant cause in England, And here it is to be noted that these barons of Ormiston, Brunston, Calder, and Hatton, were dear and intimate personal friends of Knox, whilst Ochiltree was his father-in-law. The reformer also, as we have seen, was the confidential correspondent of Bedford and Cecil, the associate in the common cause for the support of religion with Morton and Lethington, and undoubtedly the most powerful and influential of all the ministers or leaders of the Kirk. If called upon, therefore, to believe that the list which

¹ Macrie's Life of Knox, with notes, by Dr. Crichton, p. 27.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 27 March, 1565. Morton and Ruthven to Cecil.

³ Macrie's Life of Knox by Dr. Crichton, pp. 25, 101, 171, 242.

implicates him is a forged document, and that he had no foreknowledge of the murder of Riccio, we are to believe, that in a plot formed by the party of which he was the leader, in which all his friends were implicated, the object of which was to support that form of faith which was dearer to him than life, by the commission of an act, of which, from his avowed principles, they knew that he would not disapprove;¹ they studiously declined his assistance, concealed all that was to happen, and preferred for the first time in their lives to act without him. This supposition seems to me, I confess, untenable; and when I find Bedford and Randolph transmitting his name as one of the conspirators to Cecil, I cannot escape from giving credit to their assertion.

Another corroboration of his accession to this conspiracy was his precipitate flight from Edinburgh with the rest of the conspirators, upon the threatened advance of the queen to the city. His colleague Craig, it is to be observed, who was afterwards accused by his parishioners as having been too much a favourer of the queen, remained in the city; but Knox fled precipitately, and in extreme agony of spirit to Kyle, and as we have already seen, did not venture to return till the noblemen rose against the queen after the death of Darnley.² If he was not implicated, why did he take guilt to himself by flight?

There is a passage to be found in the manuscript history of Calderwood, which is worth noticing upon this point. It has been quoted by Dr. Macrie,³ and is as follows, "King James the VI. having found great fault with Knox for approving of the assassination of Riccio, one of the ministers said, that the slaughter of David, as far as it was the work of God *was allowed by Mr. Knox*, and not otherwise," Calderwood, MS. ad annum 1591. "Knox himself," adds Dr. Macrie, "does not make this quali-

¹ Dr. Macrie, in noticing Knox's flight from Edinburgh, after the murder, states, that "it is probable he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators." Macrie's Life of Knox, by Dr. Crichton, pp. 253, 254.

² See his prayer added to his Answer to Tyrie, quoted in Macrie's Life, Note G to Period 8th.

³ Macrie's Life of Knox by Dr. Crichton, p. 254.

fication, when he mentions the subject incidentally." It is not clear, however, whether this sentence refers to Knox's allowance, or approval of the murder before or after the deed. It is lastly to be remembered, that Riccio was a Roman Catholic, consequently in Knox's eyes an Idolater; and that the reformer and his party held that Idolatry might justly be punishable by death. "Into this sentiment they were led," says Dr. Macrie, "in consequence of their having adopted the untenable opinion, that the judicial laws given to the Jewish nation were binding upon Christian nations, as to all offences against the moral law."¹

Such is the evidence which appears to me conclusive in support of the fact stated in the text. Let me now mention two circumstances which may be quoted in defence of Knox, and in proof of his innocence of this charge.

The first list, including Knox's name as one privy to Riccio's death, is, as we have seen, preserved in the State Paper Office, attached to a letter, dated 21st March. But there is another list in the British Museum, dated the 27th of March, which does not include the reformer's name, or that of Craig his colleague. It is in the handwriting of Randolph, and is entitled, "The names of such as were doers, and of council, in the late attempt for the killing of the secretary David at Edinburgh, 9th March, 1566, as contained in the account sent to the council of England, by the Earl of Bedford, Lieutenant of the North, and Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador from England to Scotland at the time, dated at Berwick, 27th March, 1566." This account or letter of the 27th of March has been printed from the original in the Cotton collection,² by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. ii. p. 207, along with the list of the names.

The second circumstance is this—when Morton and Ruthven fled to Berwick, and sent to Bedford a vindication of their proceedings with the intent that he should communicate it to Cecil and Elizabeth, they positively denied that any of the ministers of Scotland were art and part in the conspiracy, and accused the Papists of having raised the report. "It is come to our know-

¹ Macrie's Life of Knox, p. 246.

² Caligula, B. X. fol. 337.

ledge (they say) that some Papists have bruited that these our proceedings have been at the instigation of the ministers of Scotland. We assure your lordship upon our honour, that there were none of them art nor part of that deed, nor were participate thereof.”¹

And now it may be asked, why do you reject the evidence of this second list, and why are we not to believe this solemn declaration absolving the ministers of Scotland, and of course Knox with them, from all participation in the murder. To this I answer, that there is no evidence to raise doubt that the list given on the 21st March was written in good faith, while the event was yet new, after the arrival of Lord Ruthven, and without any object but that of transmitting information to *Cecil*, while that of the 27th March sent to the council of England, was carefully prepared after the failure of the conspiracy by the escape of the queen, and when the cautious and politic Morton had reached Berwick; that these lords would have an especial object in keeping the names of Knox and Craig out of the list is evidenced by the above extract, and that they would have little scruple to such a suppression is clear from the manner in which they submit their narrative to *Cecil*, to be amended and qualified at his pleasure. That the Secretary of Elizabeth did modify and recast the story after the failure of the conspiracy, and with the approbation, or by the directions of Elizabeth, is expressly asserted by one who appears to have had an intimate acquaintance with the whole plot against *Riccio*. “*La Regina d’Inghilterra*,” says, he, “quale era stata causa del tutto, intendendo la pace fra il Re e Regina di Scotia, s’attristo molto e fece scrivere per il suo Secretario *Cecille*, per tutto il regno, che la causa di tutto il suddetto, era perche il Re haveva trovato il detto *Ricciolo* a dormire con la Regina. Il che non fu mai vero.”² The extent to which this modification and alteration was not only permitted, but invited, to be carried, may be gathered from a passage in a letter of Morton and Ruthven to Secretary *Cecil*, sending him their account of the conspiracy and mur-

¹ Harleian, No. 289, fol. 96. Endorsed in *Cecil*’s handwriting. Copy of Instructions to my Lord of Bedford, from the Lords of Morton and Rewhen (*Ruthven*) 1566. This date of the year is not in *Cecil*’s hand.

² *Avvisi di Scotia*. See *Postea*, p. 440.

der.¹ “If, (say they, alluding to their enclosed narrative) there be any thing that be hardly written, that might have been *cuthit*² in gentler terms, we will most humbly request your honour *to supply us therein, to amend and qualify as your wisdom thinks good, any thing that you think extreme or rudely handled.*—It is our meaning after the return of your honour’s answer *with this copy corrected*, if so you find good, to send copies of that matter in France, Scotland, and such other places needful, as shall be thought necessary for staying of false and untrue reports and rumours.”—And lastly it is quite evident from a passage in Bedford’s and Randolph’s letter of the 27th March, giving the account of the murder, and sending the list of the names, that the chief authorities consulted for both account and list, were Morton and Ruthven, whose object it was, to suppress the names of the ministers which appeared in the first list.³

So far then as to the preference given of the first list to the second—but then comes the question—Why not believe Morton, when he states upon his word of honour, that none of the Ministers of Scotland were art and part of that deed? I answer, because according to Morton’s notions, being art and part, or participate in any action or crime, was a totally different thing from being privy to it, or cognizant of it before it was committed. Morton, according to the distinction which he made on his own trial, might have asserted with perfect honour, that neither Knox nor any of the ministers were participate in Riccio’s murder, and yet he may have been perfectly aware that Knox was privy to the murder, knew that it was about to be committed, and according to the expression used to the king by one of their number, allowed of it, that is, gave a silent consent to it, so far as he considered it to be the work of God, for the destruction of an enemy of the truth

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Morton and Ruthven to Cecil. Berwick, 2d April, 1566. Endorsed by Cecil’s clerk, Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven to my Mr. with the Discourse touching the killing of David,

² Expressed.

³ Bedford and Randolph say “Having conferred the reports from abroad which came to our knowledge with the sayings of those noblemen, the *Lord Morton, and the Lord Ruthven that are present*, and of them all that which we have found nearest to the truth, or, as we believe, the truth itself, have here put them in writing.”—27 March, 1566.—Ellis Vol. ii.

and an idolater.—I say confidently, Morton made this distinction, because he tells us so himself in his own trial and subsequent confession. “When” says Spottiswood¹ “the Earl of Montrose, Chancellor of the Assize, declared him (Morton) convicted of counsel, concealing, and being art and part, of the king’s murder, at these last words he showed himself much grieved, and beating the ground once or twice with a little staff he carried in his hand, said, ‘*art and part, art and part—God knoweth the contrary.*’—Then it was said to him, apparently my Lord, ye cannot justly complain of the sentence that is given against you, seeing that with your own mouth ye confess the foreknowledge, and concealing of the king’s murder.—He answered, I know that to be true, indeed, but yet they should have considered the danger that the revealing of it would have brought to me at that time. * * And howbeit they have condemned me of art and part, foreknowledge and concealing of the king’s murder, yet, as I shall answer to God, *I never had yet art or part, red, or counsel in this matter.—I foreknew indeed and concealed it, because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life.*”²

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that Morton’s declaration that none of the ministers of Scotland were art and part of Riccio’s murder, does not necessarily imply any declaration that Knox had not a fore-knowledge of the murder; on the contrary, it is quite consistent with his having known it, and according to the term used by one of his brethren to James, allowed of it.³

No. II.

PLOT OF LENNOX AND DARNLEY AGAINST MARY’S CROWN AND LIFE.

History p. 23.

In the letter from Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, which is quoted in the text, p. 23, the reader is aware that he alludes darkly to a plot of the king and the Earl of Lennox, his father, to deprive the queen of her crown, perhaps of her liberty and life. “I know, says he, these practices in hand contrived between the father and son to come by the crown against her will * *. I

¹ Spottiswood, p. 313.

² Bannatyne’s Memorials, p. 319.

³ Macrie’s Life of Knox, by Dr. Crichton, p. 254.

know that if that take effect which is intended, David shall have his throat cut within these ten days. *Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears, yea, of things intended against her own person, which because I think it better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary, I speak not of them but now to your Lordship.*"

It is of great importance in the question of Mary's guilt or innocence, to ascertain the truth of the existence of such a plot against her crown and life by her husband the king, and his father,—and I have found amongst the valuable collections of Prince Labanoff, a paper copied from the Archives of the House of Medici, which strongly corroborates it. I give it here with kind permission. It is thus entitled

AVVISI DI SCOTIA, DELLI 11, 13, & 28, DI MARZO, 1566.

SOPRA GLI ANDAMENTI DI QUEL REGNO.

Li Ribelli di Scotia che stavano in Inghilterra, col consenso del novo Re di Scotia ritornorno a casa loro, e trattavano co il Re suddetto di darli la Corona hereditale, accio che lui restasse Re assoluto, ancora che la Regina morisse senza figlioli.

Detto Re persuadendosi simil fatto, *consentiva alla morte della Regina sua moglie, e gia aveva consentito alla Morte De David Riccio lo Secretario de detta Regina*, et lei aveva fatto riserrar in una camera, con guardia d'Heretici, accio che li Cattolici non la potessero soccorrere, e fra tanto attendevano detti Hereteci, a far che il stato tutto consentisse alla incoronazione di detto Re, et alla privazione del Governo di detta Regina. Al che non consentendo il Populo, e avendo il Re la mala persuasione fatta a gli da quelli tristi ribaldi, si pente dell' errore, e seno ando dalla Regina, alla quale dopo averla salutata amorevolmente racconto tutto il successo, e gl'adimando perdona del animo suo tristo hauto contra di lei, la quale con piu buon animo, e lieta fronte che puote lo ricevette, dicendoli che non credeva che egli havesse mai hauto simile intentione contra di lei, et che se forse fosse incorso in qualche mancamento di fede, che pregava Iddio gli perdonasse, et lei non solamente gli perdonava ma etiam perdonava a tutti gli altri,

che la perseguitavano, e così subito tutti due si raconsigliorno et cercorono via di salvarsi.

Stando il Re con la Regina gli Heretici credevano che lui trattasse, accioche lei sotto scrivesse certi Capitole che essi adimandavano sopra la perdonanza, et retributione de suoi beni, il che dicendo il Re alla Regina che così aveva promesso di fare, Lei subito diede modo al Re, che se ritornasse da loro con dirgli, che la Regina voleva fare ogni cosa, che a dimandavano, e così se ne andò il Re da essi heretici et lettoli il proposito che fu da loro creduto, gli exorto a mettere la Regina in libertà, promettendo lui di guardarla, che non potesse fuggire, al che loro per compiacere al Re consentivono, e se ne partirono lasciando la Regina in mano del Re suo marito.

Parliti gli heretici, il Re e la Regina mandorono subito per un Capitano loro confidente, il quale vinne con buon numero di soldati Catolici per una parte segreta, che non furono veduti dalli inimici, e gionte da loro maestra se ne fuggirono, a una Fortezza chiamata Don Bar, dove arrivorono al alba del giorno, et ivi aspettorono il soccorso di nove mille fanti Cattolici, con quali andarono contra detti Ribelli, et gli schacciarono di quel suo Regno, et sono ritornati detti Heretici in Inghilterra.

Ritornate il Re et la Regina a Lisleborgo, dove successe il suddetto, fecero tagliar la testa a cinque principali di quella Città authori et inventori di simile impresa.

La Regina d'Inghilterra, *quale era stata causa del tutto* intendendo la pace fra il Re et Regina di Scotia, s'attristo molto et fece scrivere per il suo Secretario Cecille, per tutto il Regno, che la causa di tutto il suddetto, era perche il Re haveva trovato il detto Ricciolo a dormire con la Regina—il che non fu mai vero * * * ¹

It is evident that these Advices from Scotland were given by a person on the spot and intimately acquainted with the object and circumstances of the plot against Riccio—and the statement it contains of Darnley's consent to the queen's death is of great importance—for this fact once admitted, and discovered by Mary, her position in reference to a husband whom she knew had plotted against her own life was materially altered.

¹ Filza 3 de Carteggio e affari con la Corte d'Inghilterra. Collated and certified by the Archivista, G. TANFANI.

III.

JOSEPH RICCIO AND JOSEPH LUTYNI.

History, pp. 71, 73.

JOSEPH RICCIO, the brother of David Riccio, came into Scotland with Monsieur de Mauvissiere early in April 1566¹; on the 26th April he was made secretary in his brother's place; and on the 20th June Drury informed Cecil that he was growing apace into favour. JOSEPH LUTYNI was a gentleman in the Scottish queen's service, an intimate friend of Joseph Riccio.²

On the 23rd January 1566-7, Sir William Drury addressed the following letter to Cecil.

DRURY TO CECIL.

23rd January, 1566, Berwick.

“Right Honourable,—As this bearer Mr. Throkmorton hath by some necessary business of his own, occasion to repair to the Court, so have I something not unmeet to advertise which is, that at my arrival here, my Lord of Bedford being departed, I found here one Joseph, [Lutyni] an Italian, and a gentleman who had served the Queen of Scots, and despatched with her good favour and license towards France, about certain of her grace's affairs, as by the copy of his passport, accompanied herewith, may appear, who, taking this town in his way, through weak constitution of health, made his stay here for his better recovery, in which mean time I received a letter from the Queen of Scots, purporting a request to apprehend and stay him, for that he had against the laws taken goods and money from some of his fellows, as by the copy of the letter sent herewith, your honour may be informed at length, which since, as appeareth by one that pursueth him, the queen's tailor, is but upon some old reckoning between them; and, therefore, giveth me to think by that I can gather, as well of the mat-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 20, 1566.² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. Drury to Cecil, 20 June, 1566.

ter as of the gentleman, that it is not it that the queen seeketh so much as to recover his person. For, as I have learned, the man had credit there ; and now the queen mistrusteth lest he should offer his service here in England, and thereby might with better occasion utter something either prejudicial to her, or that she would be loath should be disclosed but to those she pleaseth. Whereupon I have thought good to stay the man till such time as the queen's majesty's pleasure, or my lords of the council be signified unto me, which the sooner it be the more shall the poor stranger be eased.

“The occurrents are, the Lord Darly lyeth sick at Glasgo of the small pocks, unto whom the queen came yesterday, that disease beginneth to spread there. The Lord Morton lyeth at the Lord of Whytinghames, where the Lord Bodwell and Ledington came of late to visit. He standeth in good terms for his peace. Here we look for Ledington or Melvyn very shortly to repair. This evening arrived here the ambassador of Savoy, Monsieur de Morett. The return this way of Monsieur le Croc, is also looked for here. Thus having nothing farther to trouble your Honour, I humbly take my leave. From Berwick this 23 January, 1566.¹

WILLIAM DRURY.

Endorsed by Cecil's clerk, Mr. Drury, marshall of Berwick, to my Mr. ———— 23rd January, 1566.

We hear no more of this Italian till the 7th February, 1566-7, when Drury wrote as follows to Cecil on the subject.

DRURY TO CECIL.

Berwick, 7 Feby. 1566-7.

“It may please your Honour to be advertised. This day immediately after my Letter dispatched to the L. Lethington in answer of one of the Queen's and another of his, tending both to one effect, for the delivery of the Italian Joseph, the very copy whereof I send herewith, I received even then one from your H. of the last of January, mentioning some direction of answer concerning the said

¹ St. P. Off. B. C. Drury to Cecil.

Italian." Drury proceeds to state, that he had not been able to find out from the stranger any matter of much moment. He then adds, "He (the Italian) doubteth much danger, and so affirmeth unto me that if he return he utterly despaireth of any better speed than a prepared death.¹

On the 19th of February, 1566-7, Drury again thus wrote touching the same Italian to Cecil.

DRURY TO CECIL.

Berwick, Feby. 19, 1566-7.

It may please your H. to be advertised that I have received your letter of the 13th, the 18th of this present, I having before returned the Italian to the Queen sending a gentleman with him, as well to see him safely delivered unto her, as to put the L. of Ledington in mind both of the Queen's promise, whereof I doubted not, as of his own, that satisfying the debt, he should be in safety returned or restored to his liberty.² * * * *

Lastly, on the 28th February, 1566-7, Drury addressed a letter to Cecil, giving in its first paragraph which follows the sequel of the Italian's story; his return to Scotland, his examination by Bothwell, and his courteous dismissal.

DRURY TO CECIL.

It may please your honor to be advertised that the Italian here stayd, which the Queen of Scots by her letters required, I did send him unto her by a lieutenant of this garrison. She saw him not, but caused the Earl Bodwell to deal with him, who offered him fair speech to have him to tarry, which he would not yield unto; He satisfied such debt as the taylor could demand of him, others demanding of him nothing, the queen willed to give him 30 crowns, and hath returned him again unto me, who minds to-morrow to take his journey towards London, very well contented as he seemeth to have left Scotland,³ * * *

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. Drury to Cecil, 7th Feb. 1566.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. Feb. 19, 1566.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C. 28th Feb. 1566,

Having thus given all the letters which relate to this obscure matter, in order that the reader may form his own opinion, I conclude this note by the letter of Joseph Riccio to Joseph Lutyni, the Italian in question, part of which has been quoted in the text. It is endorsed by Cecil thus, "*Joseph Riccio, the Queen of Scots' servant.*"

JOSEPH RICCIO TO JOSEPH LUTYNI.

SIGNOR JOSEPH,

Io ho ditto a la Regina e a Thimoteo che voi m'havete portato via i miei denari, e la causa che io lo ditto e per quel, che voi intenderete.

Quando noi fumo tornati di Starlino Thimoteo domando dove erano i vostri cavalli e le vostre robbe. Io li dissi che le vostre robbe erano drento il vostro coffano, e Lorenzo Cagnoli li disse che voi havevi portato tutto con voi, insieme con i vostri cavalli, e che voi l'havete ditto, "io ho bene abuzato il segretario perche pensa che le miei robbe siano drento il mio coffano, ma non ve nienté.

Quando Thimoteo intese questo comincio a dire, "Cosi m'havete abuzato, Mr. Segretario, la regina me ne fara la' ragione," e cosi trova Bastia e lo fa dire a la Regina, ch'io l'havevo assicurato, che voi eri andato per suoi affari, e che su quello m'haveva prestato cento scudi, e tutti cominciorno a dire che li era qualche cattivaria, e chio la sapeva e che voi havevi buttato le mani nelli papperi della Regina; e io, che non voleva esser suspessionato, comincio a dire che voi m'havevi portato via sei Portoghese, e cinque nobili, e che m'havete promisso di mi lassare i vostri cavalli, e la Regina subito mi dimanda "Dove sono i miei braccialetti?" e io li dissi che voi li havevi portati conesso voi, e che erano drento la borsa con i miei denari, e Bastia comincia a dire che voi li dovevi sesanta franchi, e cominciano a dire tutti, bisogna mandarli appresso, e fanno tanto, che la Regina comanda a Ledinton di fare una lettera per vi fare arrestare per camino.

In questo mezo, Monsieur di Moretta e arrivato qui, il quale dice che voi li havete ditto, che io ero causa, che voi fate questo viaggio. —Pigliate guardia come voi havete parlato, perche se voi dite per

quello che andavi, noi saremo tutti dui in gran pena. Io ho sempre ditto che voi eri andato per pigliar denari, e per lassar passar la collera della regina che l'haveva contra di voi, e chio vi haveva consigliato così, e chio vi haveva prestato denari per far questo viaggio, la somma di sesanta scudi e due Portoghese, perche ancora voi potrete dir così, e io o ditto che i denari che voi m'havete portato, per che voi me li avette resi quando voi fussi tornato di francia; e così voi et io saremo tutti due scusati. E se voi fate altramente voi sarete causa della mia ruuina, e penso che voi non mi vorreste vedere in ruuina. Per l'amor di dio fate come s'io fussi vostro figliuolo, e vi prego per l'amor di dio e della buona amisitia che voi m'havete portata et io a voi, di dire come io vi mando, coe di fare questo viaggio per ritirare i vostri denari, e per lassar passar la collera a la Regina, e la sospittio che ella haveva di voi, e che i denari che io o ditto che voi m'havete pigliato, che voi l'havete pigliati per paura che nonvene mancasse per fare il vostro viaggio, e che voi me li haveste resi quando voi fussi tornato, e che non bisognava che io v'havessi fatto un tal brutto,¹ e che voi sete homo da bene, e che non li vorreste haver pigliati, senza rendermeli, a causa che io ero tanto vostro compagno, voi non havette mai pensato che io ne havessi fatto un tal brutto. Et vi prego di non volere esser causa della mia ruuina, e se voi dite così come vi mando sarete scusato, e io ancora.

La regina vi manda ci pigliare, per parlar; con voi pigliate guardia a voi, che voi la conoscete, pigliate guardia che non v'abbuzi delle sue parole, come voi sapete bene; e m'ha detto che vuol parlare a voi in segreto, e pigliate guardia delli dire come vi ho scritto, e non altramente, a fin che nostra parola, si confronti l'una e l'altra, e ne voi ne io non saremo in pena nessuna, e vi prego di fare quanto v'ho scritto e non altramente. Fatemi intendere innanzi che voi siete qui, la vostra volontà, et vi prego de haver pietà di me e non voler esser causa della mia morte, e facendo come io vi mando non sarete niente in pena ne io ancora, e io vene sarò sempre obligato, e troverete chio lo conoscerò d'una maniera, che voi vene contenterete di me, e vi prego di mi volere scrivere quello che voi volete dire, a fin che io non sia più in

¹ Sic in orig.

questa pena che io sono innanzi che voi arivate qui, per homo espress.

Altra cosa non vo da scrivere per adesso, perche velo diro quando sarete qui, e vi prego di haver pieta di me, e di voi, perche se voi dite altramente di quel che io v'ho scritto, sarete in pena si ben come me.

Pregando dio che vi dia contentezza di ed lilemburgh questa domenica.²

Vro come buon fratello,

JOSEPH RICCIO.

Vi prego di brugiar la littera appresso che voi l'havete letta.¹

IV.

DARNLEY'S MURDER.

History, p. 83.

I HAVE stated the fact of the king having been strangled, and have added some new particulars regarding the murder, not only on the authority of a letter of Drury to Cecil, but from what I consider a still more unexceptionable piece of evidence, the assertion of Morett, the Savoy ambassador, who was on the spot, and had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with all the circumstances. As this point has been controverted, and some obscurity still hangs over the mode in which the murder was completed, I am happy to be able to publish the following curious and authentic extract from a letter dated at Paris, 16th March, 1567. It forms part of the collections of Prince Labanoff, the original being amongst the Medici papers, to which the prince had access. The letter was written by the Papal Nuntio at Paris to the Grand Duke; and after stating the arrival of Father Edmonds and Monsieur de Morett, the ambassador at Paris, with some other particulars, which I need not mention, it proceeds thus,

“Quanto al particular della morte du quel Re, il detto Signor di

¹ St. P. Off. The letter is thus endorsed in Cecil's hand, Joseph Riccio the Queen of Scots servant.

Muretta ha ferma opinione, che quel povero Principe, sentendo il rumore delle genti che attorniavano la casa, e tentavano con le chiave false apprir gl'usci, volse uscir per una porta che andava al giardino, in camicia, con la pelliccia, per fuggire il pericolo, e quivi fu affogato, e poi condotto fuori dal giardino, in un piccolo horto fuori dalla muraglia della Terra, e che poi con il fuoco ruinassero la casa per amazzar il resto ch'era dentro, di che se ne fa congettura percio che il Re fu trovato morto in camicia, con la pelliccia a canto, et alcune donne che alloggiavano vicino al giardino, affermano d'haver udito gridar il Re: "Eh fratelli miei habbiate pieta di me per amor di colui, che ebbe misericordia di tutto il mondo," et il P. Edmondo m'afferma, che il Re questa mattina, haveva secondo il suo solito udita la messa, e che era stato sempre allevato della madre Cattolicamente, ma che per desiderio di regnare alle volte dissimulava l'antica religione, se, cosi è degni sua divina maesta haver misericordia di quella povera anima. * * *

Parigi, 16 de Marzo, 1567.

Collated and certified by the Archivista, G. Tanfani, 17th February, 1840.

The following letters from Drury to Cecil, give us some additional particulars relative to the murder of the king, and Bothwell's trial and conduct after it:

DRURY TO CECIL.

St. P. Off. B. C. Berwick, Feb. 28, 1566-7.

May it please your honour, &c.

* * *

There hath been other bills bestowed¹ upon the church doors, as upon a tree called the Tron, wherein they speak of a smith who should make the key, and offers, (so there might be assurance of the living that by proclamation was offered) he and others will

with their bodies approve these to be the devisers, and upon the same venture their lives.

There was at the meeting at Dunkeld the Earls Murray, Morton, Athol, and Caithness, the L. Oglebie, the L. Glamis, Lindsay, and others. John Hepburn, sometime Captain under the Earl Bodwell of the Harmitage, is thought to be one of the executors of this cruel enterprise, there is one Hughe Leader also suspected. I am promised to understand the certainty. His servant Sandy Duram, a Scottish man, is thought also to know some part. I will not write of so much as the Scots speak themselves, and some of them of credit.

Standen and Nelson, with some others that served the Lord Darnley, as I hear, are referred for their wages to the Provost of Edinburgh. The Lord of Craigmillar, and the Earl Bodwell, hath promised to give Standen a horse. Hudson, a man of good years, with the rest of the musitianers, came this other day to Seton, to the queen, and required her license that they might repair into their country. She dissuaded them to the contrary, saying unto them, you have lost a good master, but if you will tarry you shall find me not only a good mistress, but a mother. But they mind again to move her, and as I hear, minds to return. There is with her at Seton, Argile, Huntly, Bodwell, and Livingston, the Lord Seton is gone to Newbottle, having left the whole house to the queen, so she is there of her own provision, and minds, as I am advertised, to tarry there till near unto Easter. There is in hand to have the lords assemble in Edinburgh. She hath twice sent for the Earl of Murray, who stayeth himself by my ladie in her sickness. It is said that the Lord Fleming shall be the Earl Bodwell's deputy at Anwick, for suppression of the rebels of Liddesdale, and that certain of the soldiers are gone from Edinburgh to the Harmitage there to remain.

There was a rich ship of Shetland, bound to Flanders, lost this last week at Holy Island, receiving a leak, coming from Lieth. She was laden with fells, hides, and leaden ore. The Frenchmen that I wrote of in my last letters, that took shipping at Lieth, have been put in by weather into the Holy Island, and there have remained these eight days past.

Edward Collingwood, one of this garrison horsemen, is returned from the Earl Bodwell, having remained with him in Scotland this quarter of this year. I have upon respects committed him to ward : by my next letters your honour shall understand more. The gates of Seton are very straitly kept. Captain Cullen, with his company have the credit nearest her person.

The Earl of Bodwell, was on Thursday at Edinburgh, where he openly declared, affirming the same by his oath, that if he knew who were the setters up of the bills and writings, he would wash his hands in their blood. His followers, who are to the number of fifty, follow him very near. Their gesture, as his, is of the people much noted. They seem to go near and about him, as though there were that would harm him, and his hand as he talks with any that is not assured unto him, upon his dagger, with a strange countenance as the beholders of him thinks. Even as the L. Darnley, and his servant William Taylor, lay in the house in distance one from the other, even so, as also otherwise¹, were they found together. Signior Francis, as I hear, minds to pass this way within six or eight days.

I send your Lordship here the copy of some of the Bills set up, whereby you may see how undutifully the doers of the same doth behave themselves against their Sovereign. I have thought it my part as well to send to you this, as I have done in the rest, for that I would if you should so think it meet, that her majesty, my Sovereign, should understand all that comes to my knowledge of the proceedings in these parts. The Lady Bodwell is, I am by divers means informed, extremely sick, and not likely to live. They will say there, she is marvellously swollen.—Even now is brought me that the Queen came upon Wednesday at night to the Lord Whawtons² house, seven miles off this side, dined by the way at a place called Tranent, belonging to the L. Seton, where he and the Earl of Huntly paid for the dinner, the Queen and the Earl Bodwell having, at a match of shooting, won the same of them. There is a proclamation made in Edinburgh, forbidding all persons for raising up any of the stones or timber at the house

¹ Sic. in Orig. There must be some mistake in Drury's mode of expressing himself, as the text implies a contradiction.

² Probably Hawton.

where the L. Darnley was murdered.—There is one of Edinburgh that affirms how Mr. James Bafourde bought of him powder as much as he should have paid three score pounds Scottish, but he must parfume¹ it with oyle to that value. Bafourde came to Edinburgh upon Wednesday at night, accompanied to the Tower with thirty horsemen—when he was near unto the Tower, he lighted, and came in a secret way ; [one] is now come to me of this Tower that saw him when he came ; he is hateful to the people. This person of this tower assures me also, that yesterday, being Thursday, before he departed thence, he saw a bill having been set up the night before, where were these letters written in Roman hand, very great. M. R.

With a sword in a hand near the same letters ; Then a L. B. with a mallet near them, which mallet they in their writing called a mell. These being even now brought me and affirmed by him that saw it, I have also thought it my part to advertise your honour of, that her Maj. my Sovereign, may know all that passes, as much as comes to my knowledge, wherein I think I do my duty, which if I understand from you that it be not so taken, I shall cease from it, and do according to your direction ; for I only desire from your honour that I may from time to time receive your advice, how best I may here employ my time to deserve her Majesty's favour and liking. How I have spent my time sithence my last coming in remedying of things needful for her highness's service, your honour may by others understand.

I have received divers requests made unto me by them that hath come from Scotland for the receiving of Standen and his company. I have answered, I will neither advise them to come, nor promise them any favour ; and minds if they come to commit them to ward till I understand from you her Majesty's pleasure, which it may please you to signify unto me.

The L. of Cessford and Fernyhurst, with the chief of both parties are now at Edinburgh for the continuance of the agreement amongst them, which agreement, as it is thought, will breed no great good to the Queen's Maj. my Sovereign, her subjects

¹ Parfume.

upon the borders, for the being agreed, they will rob and spoil faster by their reding.¹ * * * &c.

W. DRURY.

V.

BOTHWELL'S TRIAL.

The following is the Letter to Cecil alluded to in the Text.

DRURY TO CECIL.

Text, pp. 97, 98.

15th April, 1567, *St. P. Off. B.C.*

“Right Honble.—The Queen’s Majesty’s letter directed to the Queen of Scots, I received the 11th hereof at x of the clock, which forthwith I discharged by the Provost Marshall here, who in mine opinion was not the unmeetest I could chuse for the purpose.

“He arrived at the court the 12th at six in the morning, and then used his dilligence immediately to deliver his letter, which he had in charge, to the Queen, attending some good space in court, procuring all that he might by the means of such as were near her person, who told him it was early and that her majesty was asleep, and therefore advised him to tarry some time thereabouts, till she arose, which he did, going out of the court into the town, and shortly after returned, she being not yet risen, and therefore walked about till 9 or almost 10 o’clock, when all the lords and gentlemen were assembled taking their horse; and then, thinking his opportunity aptest, going into the court as a little before he did, (the contents of the letter he brought, being conjectured and bruted to be for stay of the assize) was denied passage into the court in very uncourteous manner, not without some violence offered; which seeing he could not be permitted to have recourse, as all other persons whatsoever they were, he requested that some gentleman of credit would undertake faithfully to deli-

¹ *By their reding, i. e., by their agreement—in consequence of their agreement they will be able to rob the faster.*

ver his letter, from the Queen's majesty of England, to the queen their sovereign, which none would seem to undertake.

“ Upon this came unto him the parson of Oldhamestock, surnamed Hepborne, who told him that the Earl Bodwell had sent him with this message, “ that the earl understanding he had letters for the queen, would advise him to retire him to his ease, or about some other his business, for the queen was so molested and disquieted with the business of that day, that he saw no likelihood of any meet time to serve his turn, till after the assize.”

“ Then came the Lord of Skirling, who asked him, if his letter were either from the Council or the Queen's majesty, he told him from the Queen's majesty only. Then, said he, ye shall be soon discharged, and so returning into the Court, desired the said person to keep him company at the gate which he did, and therewith espiong a Scottish man, whom he had for his guide, took occasion to reprehend and threaten him of hanging, for bringing English villains as sought to and procured the stay of the Assize, with words of more reproach.

“ In this instant Ledington was coming out and Bodwell with him, at the which all the lords and gentlemen mounted on horseback, till that Ledington came to him demanding him [of] the letter, which he delivered ; then Bodwell and he returned to the Queen, and stayed there within, half an hour, the whole troop of lords and gentlemen still on horseback, attending for his coming. Ledington seemed willing till have passed by the Provost without any speech ; but he pressed towards him and asked him if the Queen's majesty had perused the letter, and what service it would please her majesty to command him back again.

“ He answered, that as yet the Queen was sleeping, and therefore had not delivered the letters, and thought that there would not be any meet time for it till after the assize, wherefore he willed him to attend, so giving place to the (throng) of people that passed, which was great ; and by the estimation of men of good judgment above 4000 gentlemen besides others. The Earl Bodwell passed with a merry and lusty cheer, attended on with all the soldiers, being 200 all harkebuzers to the Tolbooth, and there kept the door, that none might enter but such as were more for the behoof of

the one side than the other. The assize began between x and xi, and ended vii in the afternoon.

“The Earl of Argile and Huntly, [were] chief judges ; what particularly was done or said there, I cannot yet learn, more than that there were two advocates called Crawford and Cunningham, for the Earl of Lennox, who accused the Earl Bodwell for the murder of the king, alleging certain documents for the same, and desiring forty days term longer, for the more perfect and readier collection of his proofs.”

There is another original letter of Drury's written about this time, which is a fragment, and without the date of month or day. It consists of disjointed pieces of news sent from Scotland by some one of those many spies, from whom Drury received information, “The guard,” says he, “of the soldiers of Bodwell, he going to be tried by the assize, and their keeping of the door is much misliked of.” “Bothwell immediately after the trial set up a cartel of defiance ; he would fight any one (except a defamed person) who accused him of the king's death. If I thought it might stand with the queen my Sovereign her favor, I would answer it and commit the sequel to God, I have for me sufficient to charge him with, and would prove it upon his body, as willingly as I would receive the obtaining of my sute, required of the queen's majesty. I have here caused the draught of a letter to her majesty humbly craving your honor's judgment of it. The marriage of the queen to Bodwell, and the death of the prince is presently looked for. I send you here inclosed the ploughman's bill, if your honor shall think it good to show it to her majesty. There is another worse which I am promised.

“The Cardinal did send a very gentle letter to the Lord of Murray by Clarenock, also credit by mouth, craving pardon for the past, for that he had born him evil will, but now finding that though his religion were contrary to his, yet his honest, honourable doings, and the care that he was now surely persuaded he hath tofore had of this queen here, and his sound dealing with her, ever, moved him now to think himself beholden unto him. Monsieur de Croc seems much to dislike the earl's departure, and says so to the queen. She answered, he went away for debt, but

she wept at his departure, wishing he were not so precise in religion. She wished him to go to Flanders, and to visit neither England nor France.

“ It was Captain Cullen’s persuasion, for more surety, to have the king strangled, and not only to trust to the train of powder, affirming he had known many so saved. Sir Andro Carr, with others, was on horseback near unto the place, for aid to the cruel enterprise if need had been. The Lady Coldingham, now wife to the young Mr. of Caithness, and sister to the Earl Bodwell, is in credit, and in the place of the Lady Renes, now out of court. Suspicion banished the one and placed the other. I dare not say, as others that knows more says.

“ Great means was used to have had the Earl of Murray staid in the town till the cruel deed had been done. The Bishop of Glasco, Ambassador for Scotland in France, hath written to the queen, and to others which the queen hath understanding off, that nothing likes her of the death of the king. * * The king was long of dying, and to his strength made debate for his life. The Lord David, son to the duke, is mad, and Arbroath, his brother, hath already had a show of the same disease. * * There accompanied the Earl of Murray to the boundary, his brother the Lord of Holyrood-house, the Lord Hume, and the chief of the gentlemen of the March, and some of Lothian, as Brymstone and others. The king would often read and sing the 55th Psalm, and went over it a few hours before his death. There were not many that he would of his griefs deal with, but to some he would say he should be slain, and complain him much of his being hardly dealt with. Even now by the under-marshall I received this more. His own evil handling. He only kept out of the court, pushed out as it were by force, thrust upon the breast with extremity, in the sight of divers gentlemen, which seemed much to mislike therewith.

“ A bill set up, ‘ Farewell gentyll Henry, but a vengeance of Mary.’ The Queen sent a token and message to Bodwell being at the assise.¹ The Queen upon Thursday last, past through the street unto the market, where there were women sitting that had

¹ By Drury to Cecil, Border Corr. 24th April, 1567.

to sell. They rysse as she came near, crying aloud, ‘God save your grace, if you be sakeless of the king’s deade (of the king’s death),’ The queen’s advocates, that should have inveighed against Bodwell, are much condemned for their silence. The like at an assize hath not been used. * * Bodwell rode upon the courser that was the king’s, when he rode to the assize. The nobility long tarried his coming a horseback, to accompany him. There was that followed him above iiii thousand, whereof the greatest part were gentlemen, besides they that were [in] the streets, which were more in number. The streets were full from the Canongate to the Castle.

“Ledington and others told the Under-Marshall, that the queen was asleep when he himself saw her looking out at a window, showed him by one of La Croke’s servants, a Frenchman, and Ledington’s wife with her, and Bodwell after he was a horseback looked up, and she gave him a friendly nod for a farewell; for till it was known the Under-marshall’s errand as the contents of the letter, he had liberty in court, but not after, when he was once out, suffered to go in again.”

VI.

MARY’S MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL.

Text, p. 123.

It is remarked in the text, p. 123, that the queen, although making a show of contentment was really wretched. The following letter of de Croc, the French ambassador, was written three days after her marriage with Bothwell, but recounts an interview which the ambassador had with Mary on her marriage day. It is taken from the MSS. collections of Prince Labanoff. The original is in the Bibliotheque Royale at Paris. Collection de Harlay, No. 218.

Depeche de Monsieur de Croc a Catherine de Medicis, du 18 Mai, 1567.

Madame,—Les lettres que j’escript a V. M. par le dit Evesque (de Dumblane) sont pour estre leues; Vous pouvez penser que je

ne me fye a lui quoi que je vous escrive. Vos Majestes ne sauraient mieux faire que de luy faire mauvaise chere, et trouvez bien mauvaise le mariage, car il est tres malheureux, et desja l'on n'est pas à s'en repentir. Ieudi, Sa majeste m'envoya quérir, on je m'apperceus d'une estrange façon entre elle et son Mary, ce que elle me voullut excuser, disant que si je la voyois triste, c'estoit pour ce qu'elle ne vouloit se rejouyr comme elle dit ne le faire jamais, ne desirant que la mort.¹

Hier estant renfermez tous deux dedans un cabinet avec le Compte de Bodwell, elle cria tout hault, que on luy baillast ung couteau pour se tuer. Ceulx qui estoient dedans la chambre, dans la piece qui precedoit le Cabinet, l'entendirent. Ils pensent que si Dieu luy aide qu'elle se desespera. Je l'ay conseillé et confortée de mieux que j'ay peu ces trois fois que je l'ay veu.

Son Mary ne la fera pas longue, car il est trop hay en ce royaume et puis l'on ne cessera jamais que la mort de Roy ne soyt seüe. Il n'ya ici pas un seul Seingneur de Nom, que le dit Compte de Bodwell, et le Compte de Craffort ; les autres sont mandés, et ne veullent point venir.

Elle a envoyé qu'ils s'assemblent en quelque lieu nommè, et je les aille trouver pour leur parler au nom du Roy, et voir si je y pourrez faire quelque chose. Sil advient j'y ferez tout ce qu'il me sera possible, et apres, le meilleur est de me retirer, et comme je vous ayt mander, les laisser jouer leur jeu. Il n'est point séant que je y sois au nom du Roy ; Car si je favorise la Royne l'on pensera en ce Royaume, et en Angleterre, que le Roy tient la main à tout ce qui se fait, et si ce n'eust esté le commandement que V. M. me feyrent, je fust party huict jours devant les nopces. Si est ce que j'ay parlez bien hault, dequoy tout ce royaume est assez abberuvez,² et je ne me suis point voullu brasser³ a ses nopces ; ni depuis ne l'ay point voullu recongnoistre comme Mary de la Royne. Je crois qu'il escrira à V. M. par le dit Evesque de Dumblane ; Vous ne luy debvez point faire de responce, &c. &c.

¹ This conversation it is to be particularly noted, occurred on the very day of Mary's marriage to Bothwell—the 15th of May.

² Instruit.

³ Participer.

VII.

MARY'S ESCAPE FROM LOCHLEVEN.

Text, p. 211.

The following minute account of the Queen's escape from Lochleven, which is my authority for the new and interesting circumstances given in the text, was communicated by John Beaton, brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, to the king of France, and transmitted by Petrucci, the envoy or ambassador of the Grand Duke, Cosmo de Medicis, to his master, in a letter dated at Paris, 21st of May, 1568. It is taken from the MSS. Collections of Prince Labanoff, who found the original in the secret Archives of the House of Medici. Beaton, it will be observed, was on the spot watching at Kinross, for the Queen on the evening she made her escape. He was a principal contriver of the escape, and an eyewitness and earwitness of all.

MODO CHE LA REGINA DI SCOTIA HA USATO PER LIBERARSI
DALLA PRIGIONE.

Advisato detta Regina di Scotia Monsignor di Seton suo confidentissimo Cattolico et molto valoroso cavaliere, per via d'un putto di casa, il quale non ritorno poi, egli si condusse per il giorno d'eterminato con circa 50 cavalli, presso al Lago di Loclevin, dove la Regina era tenuta prigioniera, restando pero egli con 40 di loro, fra certe montagne poco lontano per non essere scoperti da quelli del Castello del lago, e piu presso si fecero gli altri dieci, che smontarono in un vilaggio vicino al lago, mostrando esservi per transito, uno de quali ando in ripa al lago prossimo, et stava col corpo disteso in terra per non esser veduto, aspettando, che la Regina uscisse, secondo l'ordine.

Alla porta del Castello, si facevano le guardie continuati, giorno e notte, eccetto che mentre ci cenava, nel qual tempo, si chiudeva la Porta con una chiave, andando ogniuno a cena, e la chiave

stava sempre sulla tavola, dove il Castellano mangiava, e davanti a lui. Il Castellano è fratello uterino del Conte de Murray Regente de Scozia, fratello naturale della Regina, e suo mortal nimico.

La Regina doppo provato di calarsi da una finestra, e non li era riuscito, fece tanto che un paggio del Castellano, il quale essa haver a cio disposto, portando la seconda sera di Maggio un piatto in tavola, con una servietta innanzi al padrone, le misse sopra la chiave, e quella tolse e porto via—che alcuno non s'en'accorse, andato subito dalla Regina le disse il tutto, e ella che tra tanto s'era messe le vesti della maggior di quelle due cameriere, che le havevano lassate, menando seco per mano la minore, che puo essere una figlia di 10 anni, n'ando col paggio chetamente alla porta et aperta se n'uscì con lui, e con la putta, e serrata la per di fuori con la medesima chiave, senza laquale non si poteva aprire, ne anco di dentro, entra in un piccol batello, che quivi si teneva per servizio del Castello, e spiegato un suo velo bianco, con un fiocco rosso, fe il segno concertato, a chi l'attendeva che ella veniva, al quale segno quello che era disteso in terra su la ripa del lago, levato sì, e con un altro segno advisati li Cavaliere del Vilaggio (fra quali era principale, quello che e venuto qua a dar conto di questo fatto a questi Maesta, che e fratello del Ambasciatore di Scotia qua,) e da loro advisati poi quelli della Montagna furono subito al lago, e la Regina che col paggio remando al meglio che poteva, di la con la Dio gratia s' era condotta; racolsero con infinita allegrezza e messa la a cavallo, col paggio e con la putta, la menarono al Mare 5 miglia indi discosto, per cio che l'andare sempre per terra, dove havevano disegnato saria stato loro di manifesto pericolo.

Imbarcatisi tutti la condussero a Nidri luogo ti Monsignore di Seiton e di la poi a Amilton, Castello del Duca di Sciatelero, la dove Monsignore d'Arcivescovo di Santa Andrea suo fratello, con altri principali de quelle parte l'accolsero e rivererono come Regina. Amilton e luogo forte per battaglia di mano e vicino a Don Bertran porto e Castello fortissimo 4 leghe, ma la Regina non si retira la' si perche e ben sicura in Amilton, comandando a tutta quella contrada, Monsignor S'Andrea sudetto, e non altri, si per poter recever meglio quei che anderano ad-adjutarla la, che in una

fortezza forse non saria cosi, alla quale pero in ogni caso si puo condurre da una sera, a un'altra accadendo.

Tutto quel regno e in moto, chi per la Regina, chi contro di lei col conte di Moray—Ella ha mandato questo Gentilhuomo¹ a mandar per hora mille Archebusieri a queste Maesta, ma che se vorra ricuperare, Edinburg, citta principale, e l'altre fortezze occupate da ribelli, hara bisogno d'esser adjutata da ogni banda, e ha scritta una lettera al Cardinale di Loreno che moveria ogni cuore duro a compassione di lei, et le prime linee sono che ella domanda perdona a Dio et al Mondo de gli errori passati della sua giovinezza, che ricognosci la sua liberazione solo da sua divina Maesta, e che le ne rendeva, humilissime gratie, che le habbia dato tanto spirito in queste sue afflitioni, che non si sia mai punto mossa dal suo fermo proponimento di voler vivere e morir Cattolica, come intende hora de voler far piu che mai.

Collated and Signed by L'ARCHIVISTA.

G. TANFANI.

Dal Archivio Mediceo.

le 17 febbrajo, 1840.

In a letter preserved amongst the Morton MSS., from Sir William Kirkaldy to the Laird of Lochleven, dated June 1st, 1568, there is the following passage.

“ Seeing that all thir three taik no effect, this last was tane in hand and executed, devised by the Queen's self, George, and the lad Willie, and Cursell was on the Counsel, who received all writings, messages, and tokens from Willie sent by George to the queen, I can try no more of your servants to have been on this Counsel. * * As to them that came in company with the L. Seton I need not to tell you their names, but James Wardlaw was the guide, and laid them quietly in the hill, where they might see the going in and out of the boat—when, I know farther ye shall understand it, &c.” 1st June, 1568.

¹ Namely, John Beaton.

VIII.

BATTLE OF LANGSYDE.

Text p. 220.

The following account of this battle is taken from an original in the State Paper Office, entitled,

ADVERTISEMENTS OF THE CONFLICT IN SCOTLAND.

[The blanks are left in consequence of the original being in those places injured.]

16 May, 1568.

The Queen's number was six thousand.

The Earl of Argyle her Lieutenant General.

The Company of the Lords was esteemed to be four thousand.

The Hamiltons had the vaunt garde of the Queen's part assisted with others to the number of two thousand. Both companies did strive for a Hill nigh adjoining where they met. Their meeting together was in a strait passage thro a village. The Lord Hume, the Lord Semple, and the Lord Morton, had the vauntgard on that side. The fight endured at the least three quarters of an hour without giving back. The Queen's party first gave way, and then pursued¹ . . . at the beginning of which chase Th' Earl of Murray willed and required all his to spare for shedding of more blood. Otherwise as many as were on foot which were the greatest number, had been in their Enemys will, for the h . . . whereof the lord Haris was general, fled and . . . within the horses of them that were lighted of the Company.

The Queen beheld this Conflict within half a mile distant, standing upon a hill accompanied with Lord Boyd, the Lord Fleming, and the Lord Harris son, with thirty others, who seeing the Company overthrown took the way to ²Dumbarton who was so near pursued that she could not take the boat that should bring her into Dumbarton, but was driven to take the way to Dumfries, where she as yet remaineth. The estimation of the number that was slain in the place where they fought, by the view of them that

¹ Sic. in Orig.

² The four following lines are scored through in orig. to "remaineth."

have skill, is judged to be six or seven score, besides those that have died since being brought into the Town, and other places which daily die. And taken prisoners of that side to the number of 300 and more, whereof the Lord Seaton, the Lord Ross, Sir James Hamilton, the Mr. Montgomery, the Mr. Cassillis, the Sheriff of Ayr, the Sheriff of Lithgow, who bore the Hamilton's standard in the vantgarde, himself being a Hamilton, the young laird of Preston, the Laird of Innerwick, the Laird of Pitmilly, and the Laird of Baweirg Andro Melvin, the Laird of Boyne, and Robert Melvin, Captain Anstruther, the Laird of Trabrowne, two sons to the Bishop of St. Andrews, if one of them not slain, a son to the Abbot of Kylwinnon. The rest of the number that is taken of the three hundred is all of the surname of the Hamiltons and their allya, Alexr. Stewart a Captain of footmen slain.

John Hamilton of Millbourne, Mr. of the Household to the Duke, also slain. John Hamilton of Ormiston slain.

The prisoners for the most part are all put in the Castle of Glasgow. Of the Lords side never a man of name slain. Divers sore hurt. The Lord Hume hurt in the leg and face, and overthrown and relieved by his own men. The Lord Ochiltree sore hurt and in danger of his life, at the skirmish on horseback in the morning, receiving his chief wound with a sword in his neck, given by the Lord Harris, whose son in the revenge of his father's hurt had slain the Lord Seaton had not the Earl of Murray, saved him after his being yielded. Andro Kar of Fawdonside likewise hurt in danger of his life with divers others gentlemen sore hurt.

The Earl of Argile, even as they were joining, as it is reported, for fault of courage and spirit, swooned. There were divers of the Queen's part taken and not brought in, for there was the father against the son, and brother against brother, as namely, three of the Melvyns of the Lords' side, and two of the Queen's, which was Robert and Andro. After the fight had long continued, a gentleman of the highland called Macfarlane, who not xx days before for his misbehaviour was condemned to die, and yet at the suit of the Countess of Murray, had his pardon, and now accompanied with two hundred of his countrymen was a wing to the vauntgarde of th' East side, and came in and executed great

slaughter by whom the victory was not thought least to be atchieved.

The Earl of Huntly was coming to the Queen with . . . with great speed, untill . . . got the warst, and then . . . of Field pieces of brass there was x, which the Lords also wan. And the Mr. Gunner, with a great piece from the Lords' side.

The day following, being the 14th, the Earl sent to summon the Castle of Hamilton. The answer respaited till the next morning, and he that had the charge thereof came to Glasgow and offered the keys to the Earl of Murray upon his knees, and said, that if it pleased to send any thither to receive it, he should, and he answered, that he would go himself, and so did, and took it that day himself about 12 hours, and within few hours afterwards went to Draffen, but how he hath therein prevailed, I yet know not, but shall at the return of those two that I have yet remaining there.

The Earl of Athol, notwithstanding his promise made to the lords, neither he nor any of his came. The Laird of Grange had the charge of the horsemen of the Lords' side, who that day played his part. The French Ambassador was either at Hamilton or in the Field the day of their meeting. The Earl of Eglinton being of the Queen's side, bestowed himself in a house and there covered with straw till the night, and then escaped.

The noblemen that were with the Queen. The Earl of Argile, Th' Earl of Eglinton, The Earl of Cassillis brother, with his friends. The Earl of Rothes, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Fleming, the L. Levyston, the Lord Seaton, the Lord Ross, the Lord Yester, the Lord Borthwick, the Lord Claude, son to the Duke, Sir James Hamilton . . . the Sheriff of Lithgow, the L. . . and of Garleys, the L. Weemys, of Fife, with all the whole force of Galloway and Liddesdale.

That day the Earl of Murray went to receive the Castle of Hamilton, certain of his horsemen ran a foray, and got many naggs, whereupon the poor people made a great lamentation, and immediately thereupon he caused proclamation to be made that their goods should be delivered again, and no spoil to be made.

IX.

AN ORDER FOR MARY'S EXECUTION IN 1569.

Text p. 292.

The following is the letter of Leicester referred to in the text. It was politely communicated to me by John Bruce, Esq., a well known and able antiquary, and secretary to the Camden Society. He conjectures that it was written to Secretary Walsingham, but the address does not appear on the letter. It is preserved in a MS. volume belonging to Frederick Ouvry, Esq., by whose permission it is now printed. The volume was written, as Mr. Bruce conjectures, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and contains transcripts of many letters written by Leicester, from the Low Countries. I have in vain searched for the original of this letter in the State Paper Office. The fact which it mentions, that a great seal was sent for Mary's execution of a sudden, at the time of Northumberland and Westmoreland's rebellion is, as far as I know new.

LEICESTER TO ———

10th October, 1585.

"I have written very earnestly, both to her Majesty and my Lord Treasurer, and partly also to yourself and Mr. Vice Chamberlain, for the furtherance of justice in [on] the Queen of Scots; and believe me if you shall defer it, either for a parliament or a great session, you will hazard her majesty more than ever, for time to be given is that the traitors and enemies to her will desire.

"Remember how upon a less cause, how effectually all the council of England, once dealt with her majesty *for justice to be done upon that person*, for being suspected and infamed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmoreland in the rebellion. You know the Great Seal of England was sent then and thought just and meet, upon the sudden for her execution. Shall now her

consent and practice for the destruction of her majesty's person, be used with more [regard] to her danger than the less found fault? Surely I tremble at it, for I do assure myself of a new more desperate attempt if you shall fall to such temporising solemnities; and her majesty cannot but mislike you all for it, for who can warrant these villains from her if that person live, or shall live any time? God forbid; and be you all stout and resolute in this speedy execution, or be condemned of all the world for ever. It is most certain if you will have her majesty safe, it must be done, for justice doth crave it, besides policy. It is the cause I send this poor lame man, who will needs be the messenger for this matter; he hath bidden such pain and travel here, as you will not believe. A faithful creature he is to her majesty as ever lived. I pray you, let her not¹ retain him still now, even to save his life, for you know the time of the year is past for such a man to be in the field; yet will he needs be so, and means to return, and you must procure his stay as without my knowledge, or else I lose him for ever; but if he come hither it is not like if he can continue; he deserves as much as any good heart can do—be his good friend I pray you, and so God bless you—Hast—written in my bed upon a cushion, this 10th, early in the morning.

“Your assured.”

“I pray you let not Candish know I wrote for his stay, but yet procure it in any wise.”

¹ Sic. in original, but it seems incorrect. It should be, I think, “let her retain him still now.”

X.

ELIZABETH'S PLOT FOR THE SECRET EXECUTION OF MARY IN
SCOTLAND.

The following are the Letters which contain the Secret History of
Killigrew's Mission.

HENRY KILLIGREW TO LORDS BURGHLEY AND LEICESTER.

Text p. 380.

Leith, 14th Sept. 1572.

“ May it please your good lordships, I arrived at Berwick the 11th of this present; and after I had some conference with Mr. Marshall, touching my charge, I came to Tantallon, where the Earl Morton had lain sick ten days before. He caused me to stay there all night, by reason whereof many speeches passed, which now for haste I cannot enlarge; but, in sum, it may please your honour to know that he assured me, that for his part he was the same man he always professed himself to be, both for the king, his master's service, and the doing of all good offices to continue the amity with the Queen's Majesty, my sovereign, that he knew of no pensions offered by Monsieur de Croc, nor any practices for conveying the king, etc. La Croc, he seemed not to like, because hitherto he did not acknowledge the king's Authority; but a driver of time in this treaty, which I think will hardly be brought to a good peace, without further trouble, for the great jealousy the one party hath, that the other meaneth but drift of time. He¹ is the king's lieutenant-general on this side Stirling.

“ The news of France doth make them¹, and others startle, and here methinks doth greatly alienate their minds from that king. Where their day of meeting was appointed to be the 10th day of this month, certain of both sides convened together and put it off, till the 20th of this month, at which time the Regent, and the

¹ i. e. Morton.

Earl of Morton, with the king's friends do meet here in Lieth. In this meanwhile, passing towards my Lord Regent to Stirling, I thought good having met Mr. James Melvin by chance in this town, to let them of the castle know of my coming, and of the cause, and of the charge I have to deliver them as soon as I shall have been with the Regent. It seemeth I am not misliked of the other party, and therefore I hope some good will grow, even in the matter I am chiefly sent for, whereof, as soon as I may be able with reason, I shall advertise your honours; and in this meantime, most humbly beseech you to pardon this rude scribbling.

“John Knox is again in Edinburgh, the town guarded; and this also which is somewhat fortified, and in defence with the king's soldiers. From Lieth, this 14th of September, in the morning.¹

“Your Honours' most bounden,

“H. KILLIGREW.”

KILLIGREW TO LORDS BURGHELEY AND LEICESTER.

19th Oct. 1572, Stirling.

“May it please your good Lordships to be advertised. I came hither the 16th of this present, at night, and the next day I was bidden to dinner with the regent, and saw the king, who seemed to me a very toward prince of his age, both in wit and person.

“I pressed my Lord Regent's Grace to command some good and reasonable answers to be made unto the form of surety demanded by the Castilians to the end that this abstinence be not neglected as the other was, without doing any thing for the peace, until it was too late, and in this motion I used some speeches to sound his inward liking and devotion to the peace indeed; which I found him to my judgment most desirous thereof. And weary as it were in respect of the burden, charge, and trouble sustained by the Regiment because he findeth not the assistance he looked for, neither at home, nor yet from abroad—

“Touching my motion his grace said, that he had given order to

the Abbot of Dumfermling to deliver me at my return to Edinburgh, such answer as his grace and the council had caused to be framed to the Castilians' demands, the which he hoped I should find to be reasonable, and in case there were any thing to their misliking, his grace and the council were contented to be ruled therein by the advice of her Majesty, wherein they nothing doubted the care her majesty had, both of the preservation of their young king and his estate. And by occasion of this speech his grace said moreover to me how he had sent his resolute mind unto my Lord of Morton by the said Abbot *touching the great matter*; wherein I found him now very earnest, insomuch that he desired me to write speedily unto both your honours to further the same by all the good means you might, as the best and as it were the only salve for the cure of the great sores of this commonwealth. I am also put in good hope of the said Abbot that I shall receive a good answer of my Lord of Morton's touching the circumstances et cetera, which I omit to write till the despatch of my courier, by whom I shall be able to satisfy your honors more at length, having only written thus much as it were by the way.

"I perceive the Regent's first coldness grew rather for want of skill how to compass so great a matter, than for lack of good will to execute the same. He desired me also to write unto your honor's to be suitors unto her majesty for some relief of money towards the payment of his soldiers, without the which he shall not be able to do his master that service he desireth" * * *

The rest of the letter is unimportant.¹

KILLIGREW TO LORDS BURGHELEY AND LEICESTER.

Text p. 393.

Orig. St. P. Off. November 23rd, 1572.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered.

"Your honours' letters by Captain Arrington, who brought her Majesty's pacquet, I received the 22d of this present, in the which

¹ St. P. Off.

your honours do earnestly charge me with two great, yea, very great faults—one that I should have passed my commission in the handling of the great cause, the other, for that I showed myself willing to receive so absurd and unreasonable requests as I sent your honours.

“To the first I answer, with all humbleness, under the correction of your good Lordships, that whatsoever cause my confounded manner of writing gave your honours so to think, yet if it shall be proved ever hereafter that I used her Majesty’s name therein, or passed the bounds of my commission, I will never desire more favour of your honours, but rather that ye would do justice upon me to the example of others.

“I forget not, my Lords, the great charge her Majesty gave me at my coming hither, saying, that no more was privy to this matter, but your honours and I, and that if it came forth, the blame should fall thereafter. I could but promise her Majesty it should be to me as my life, which I trust I have kept, insomuch that when I was advertised that my Lord Keeper, after his coming to the Court, was also made acquainted with the matter, I durst never direct my letters to him, with your Lordships, but thought best to leave the same to your wisdoms. And this is absolute to the first point, whatsoever my Cornish English hath occasioned your honours to gather to the contrary, that I never used her Majesty’s name, nor that I would make any motion for them here, but to your honours alone.

“Now, touching the receiving of the Articles, and transcription of them, I did it not without protestation to the Abbot of Dumfermling, how I utterly misliked them, assuring him farther, that I took them not to any other end, but to know of my Lord of Morton, whether they were according to his meaning. Whereupon I remember the abbot replied, alleging certain causes why he thought her Majesty would never agree to any such thing, therefore that this was a mean to feel your Lordships’ judgments, which saying of his I did insert as near as I could remember them in the letter, and after the ‘Articles.’

“I humbly beseech your honours to consider that this was done at such time as the late Regent lay a dying, which matter and the

sequel thereof did so occupy my head and hand, that I was fain to send those Articles with a confused letter, as it were rather to let your honours see the manner of their dealing (whereof I had given warning before in my other letters), than that I did allow or like of them, and therefore I advertised your honours how I had told my Lord of Morton plainly, that I had not sent them, but only received them of the abbot (who was gone over the water), to know whether they were as his Lordship meant them — who, taking the copy which I had in my hand to show him, after he had read them said, that the abbot had missed in something, and desired me not to send the Articles. I answered, he need not desire me, for though he would give me never so much, I would not do it, and in the end made him see that it was rather a mockery than otherwise.

“This your honours may trust to is true, although the time were such then, as I could not write all circumstances, and since that time, although I heard some time a glance of the matter, I would never give great ear to it. * * * And truly, my Lords, I was stricken with such sorrow upon the reading of your Letters, I was not able since to brook any thing I took for sustenance. *

* *

“By your honours bounden,

“H. KYLLYGREW.¹”

XI.

DEATH OF MAR.

Text, p. 392.

On the day the Regent Mar died at Stirling, namely October 28, 1572, Killigrew the ambassador wrote this letter to the Lords Burghley and Leicester :—

“May it please your good Lordship, I wrote yesterday to Mr. Secretary of the great danger my Lord Regent was in of his life, but since, he having been let blood, is somewhat amended. My Lord of Morton told me the same day that he had received a letter from Alexander Areskine, the Regent’s brother, that there was no

¹ St. P. Off.

hope of life in him, and willed him to provide accordingly, which he did, as your honors shall understand by Captain Arrington, who shall depart hence to-morrow at the farthest, both with their opinions here for the peace, as also *for the matter ye wot of*, which in mine opinion will nothing satisfy your expectation, unless it may be squared and framed to a better and more reasonable proportion, as I think it will upon your answers. I look this night for a man I sent to Stirling, and therefore shall peradventure stay a little the longer, that I may send you perfect word of the Regent's estate. And thus referring all things to Capt. Arrington's letters I most humbly take my leave of your honours, * * *

“ H, KYLLYGREW.”

XII.

DEATH OF GRANGE.

Text, p. 422.

REGENT MORTON TO KILLIGREW.

Holyrood-house, Aug. 5, 1573.

“ After my most hearty commendations, I received your letter from Captain Cockburn as I returned from Stirling towards this town upon the 29th of July, wherein I find a loving continuance of your care and gude will towards the amity of thir² countries, and friendship to myself. Of the quhilk³ I heartily thank you.

“ Upon Monday the 3d of August, Grange, his brother, Mr. James, with Mossman and Cockky, the goldsmiths that made the counterfeit money in the castle, were executed, according to the judgment of the law pronounced against them. And further execution is no yet made. What offers were made on Grange's behalf for safety of his life, I send you herewith the copy, which, as you may consider are large, as meikle⁴ as possibly might

¹ St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley and Leicester, 28 October, 1572.

² These.

³ The which.

⁴ As much.

have been offered. Yet considering what has been and daily is spoken by the preachers, that God's plague will not cease quhill¹ the land be purged of blood, and having regard that such as are interested by the death of their friends, the destruction of their houses, and away taking of their goods, could not be satisfied by any offer made to me in particular, quhilk I accepting, should have been cassin² in double inconvenience, I deliberated to let justice proceed as it has done.* * *

"I have written to my Lady Lennox to crave of the Marshall of Berwick, the King, my sovereign's jewels that are in his hands, which he is obliged in honor, and by indenture and promise, made at the encoming of the queen's majesty's forces to deliver in my hands to the king's use. It may be that he will use them liberally now at court, and make friends by them. Therefore, I pray you give advice to my Lady Lennox in what order it is best that she handle this matter." * * *

¹ Until.

² Thrown.

³ St. P. Off.

END OF VOL. VII.